

**CONFERENCE OF THE EIGHTEEN-NATION COMMITTEE  
ON DISARMAMENT**

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FINAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE TWO HUNDRED AND EIGHTY-SEVENTH MEETING

Held at the Palais des Nations, Geneva,  
on Tuesday, 21 February 1967, at 3 p.m.

THE UNIVERSITY  
OF MICHIGAN

JUN 28 1967

DOCUMENT  
COLLECTION

Chairman:

Mr. H. KHALLAF

(United Arab Republic)

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## PRESENT AT THE TABLE

Brazil:

Mr. A. F. AZEREDO da SILVEIRA  
Mr. D. SILVEIRA da MOTA  
Mr. A. da COSTA GUIMARAES  
Mr. S. de QUEIROZ DUARTE

Bulgaria:

Mr. K. CHRISTOV  
Mr. B. KONSTANTINOV  
Mr. T. DAMIANOV  
Mr. D. KOSTOV

Burma:

U KYAW MIN

Canada:

Mr. E.L.M. BURNS  
Mr. S. F. RAE  
Mr. C. J. WEBSTER  
Mr. C. J. MARSHALL

Czechoslovakia:

Mr. P. WINKLER  
Mr. T. LAHODA  
Mr. V. VAJNAR

Ethiopia:

Mr. D. A. ABERRA  
Mr. A. ZELLEKE  
Mr. B. ASSFAW

India:

Mr. V. C. TRIVEDI  
Mr. K. P. JAIN  
Mr. AHMAD BARAKAT

Italy:

Mr. F. CAVALLETTI  
Mr. G. P. TOZZOLI  
Mr. E. FRANCO  
Mr. F. SORO

Mexico:

Mr. A. GARCIA ROBLES  
Mr. M. TELLO MACIAS

Nigeria:

Mr. B. O. TONWE

Poland:

Mr. M. BLUSZTAJN

Mr. E. STANIEWSKI

Mrs. M. COSMA-KOMPANIEJCZEW

Romania:

Mr. N. ECOBESCO

Mr. C. UNGUREANU

Mr. A. COROIANU

Mr. C. MITRAN

Sweden:

Mrs. A. MYRDAL

Mr. A. EDELSTAM

Mr. H. BLIX

Mr. R. BOMAN

Union of Soviet Socialist  
Republics:

Mr. A. A. ROSHCHIN

Mr. G. A. KISELEV

Mr. I. I. CHEPROV

Mr. V. B. TOULINOV

United Arab Republic:

Mr. H. KHLILAF

Mr. A. OSMAN

Mr. A. A. SALAM

Mr. M. SHAKER

United Kingdom:

Lord CHALFONT

Mr. B. J. GARNETT

Mr. P. W. J. BUXTON

Mr. R. I. T. CROMARTIE

United States of America:

Mr. W. C. FOSTER

Mr. S. DE PALMA

Mr. G. BUNN

Mr. C. G. BREAM

Special Representative of the  
Secretary-General:

Mr. D. PROTITCH

Deputy Special Representative  
of the Secretary-General:

Mr. W. EPSTEIN

Deputy Director-General of the  
United Nations Office at Geneva:

Mr. G. PALTHEY

1. The CHAIRMAN (United Arab Republic) (translation from French): I declare open the 287th plenary meeting of the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament.
2. In accordance with established practice on the resumption of the work of the Conference, the first part of this meeting will be open.
3. I call on Mr. Protitch, the Special Representative of the Secretary-General of the United Nations.
4. Mr. PROTITCH (Special Representative of the Secretary-General): On behalf of Secretary-General U Thant, I have the privilege of welcoming once again to the Palais des Nations the delegations participating in the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament. I also have the honour to convey to the Conference the following message from the Secretary-General:

"For the sixth consecutive year the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament is convening in Geneva in its continuing effort to find ways of halting and controlling the arms race, and of making progress towards general and complete disarmament and providing effective guarantees of peace and security.

"The fact that negotiations are resuming, that the search for agreement goes on concurrently on general disarmament and on partial measures aimed at lessening international tension, and that the conference machinery of the Eighteen-Nation Committee is once again put in motion gives renewed hope for progress.

"The General Assembly, at its twenty-first session, has expressed very serious concern at the prospects of a possible intensification of the arms race. Its debate on the various aspects of the disarmament question has been conducted with a sense of urgency and of realism. The General Assembly adopted an unusually large number of resolutions on disarmament: three on non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, three on general and complete disarmament, and one each on suspension of nuclear tests, the prohibition of the use of nuclear and thermonuclear weapons, and the elimination of military bases in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

(Mr. Protitch)

"The texts of these resolutions are before you<sup>1/</sup>. Some of them entrust specific and, on the whole, increased responsibilities to the Conference. It will be enough, in this connexion, to recall that the General Assembly has requested the Eighteen-Nation Committee to give high priority to negotiating an international treaty to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons in accordance with resolution 2028 (XX) and urged the earliest conclusion of a treaty on non-proliferation; to elaborate without any further delay a treaty banning underground nuclear weapon tests; to give consideration to the question of elimination of foreign military bases in countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America; and, in addition, to pursue new efforts towards achieving substantial progress in reaching agreement on general and complete disarmament under effective international control, as well as on collateral measures, and in particular on a non-proliferation treaty and an underground test ban.

"It is my earnest hope that the Conference will be able to make progress on the various questions that are now before it.

"You will recall that, after many years of persistent efforts, the signing of the partial test-ban Treaty in August 1963<sup>2/</sup> was welcomed as an event that might open new prospects in the search for disarmament and for international peace. Regrettably, those expectations have not so far been fulfilled. Nevertheless, progress can still be achieved. This has been confirmed recently by the agreement on the Treaty governing the activities of States in the exploration and use of outer space, which was approved unanimously by the General Assembly on 19 December 1966<sup>3/</sup> and whose signature on 27 January of this year removed outer space, the moon and other celestial bodies from the nuclear-arms race. The Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America, which was signed in Mexico City on 14 February<sup>4/</sup>, provides for the first nuclear-free zone in an inhabited portion of the earth. Both of these treaties are of importance in helping to prevent the further spread of nuclear weapons. They also are important as steps which can lead to other measures of disarmament. Moreover, they bear witness to the possibilities of developing

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1/ ENDC/185

2/ ENDC/100/Rev.1

3/ A/RES/2222 (XXI)

4/ ENDC/186

(Mr. Protitch)

international co-operation and agreement, even in the most delicate and sensitive matters, provided the political will is present.

"I feel confident that the members of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament will wish to take advantage of the resumed Conference to renew and intensify their efforts to achieve agreement on the concrete measures of disarmament called for by the resolutions of the General Assembly.

"I extend to all of you my earnest good wishes for success in your endeavours."

5. The CHAIRMAN (United Arab Republic) (translation from French): I feel sure that I am speaking for all the members of the Committee in requesting Mr. Protitch to convey to the Secretary-General our thanks for his kind words and good wishes in his message to the Committee.

6. I should now like to say a few words as Chairman of today's meeting. I cannot tell you how pleased I am to preside over this meeting, which inaugurates the second half of our Committee's first decade. I feel it appropriate, therefore, with your permission, to say a few words on the work of this Committee, which has just completed its first five years. The Committee's industry, perseverance and firmness in the face of the many difficulties, obstacles and hazards it has encountered have enabled it courageously to continue its work and help to preserve the firm belief of the peoples of the world that a solution will be found to the vital problem of general and complete disarmament and the elimination of the appalling risk of nuclear war.

7. Of course, some will see in the Committee's work nothing but somewhat ineffectual manifestations of sincerity and expressions of good intention. But it must not be forgotten that here for the first time Powers great and small, nuclear and non-nuclear, aligned and non-aligned, can be seen working untiringly side by side to settle the only item on their agenda -- the problem of the survival of mankind in this second half of the twentieth century.

8. Furthermore, the Eighteen-Nation Committee can undeniably claim some results which, though limited, are nevertheless genuine. For example, it has promoted -- or contributed to -- the conclusion of a number of practical agreements aimed at slowing the arms race, relieving tension and laying a sound base for peaceful coexistence.

(The Chairman, United Arab Republic)

It is also trying in the meantime to mature suitable solutions to certain disarmament problems through its continuous and earnest negotiations.

9. I venture to say now that our work here in the past year has just been the subject of a profitable debate at the twenty-first session of the General Assembly, culminating in the adoption of important resolutions which will have to be followed up here. The general tone of that debate and the resolutions was to request our Committee to intensify its efforts and to hasten its work, especially in certain fields that were regarded as urgent and ripe for action. Thus we may avoid the serious and perhaps irreparable consequences of prolonged delay in finding suitable solutions to the dangerous problems created by the present nuclear arms race.

10. Do I need to add that we all earnestly hope that the session opening today will be decisive in the annals of disarmament? We are bound to be aware that we are meeting in an international atmosphere which is unfortunately still troubled by wars, crises and tension. Nevertheless, the latent but sure forces of peace and various favourable circumstances provide some grounds for optimism and encourage us to continue with our work. I should like to mention some of these:

11. First, the confidence in us pledged by the Members of the United Nations when they renewed our terms of reference and entrusted us with certain specific and important tasks.

12. There is also the successful conclusion of the Treaty governing the activities of States in outer space and aiming at the denuclearization of outer space and of the celestial bodies (A/RES/2222 (XXI)).

13. Then there are the efforts the Latin-American countries have made to establish a nuclear-free continent, and the important advance they have achieved as a result (ENDC/186).

14. Lastly, special mention must be made of the better prospects now opening for the conclusion of a treaty on non-proliferation of nuclear weapons.

15. If we add to these concrete grounds for optimism the increasing appreciation that Members of the United Nations are now showing of the part their Organization must play in disarmament, we can say with confidence that in the coming year many positive results will be achieved in this domain. I am confident that by our joint efforts all of us here will help to hasten the practical expression of those results

(The Chairman, United Arab Republic)

which the world expects of us: the achievement of complete and general disarmament through progress based on fruitful negotiations and the adoption of the collateral measures which would pave the way for it.

16. We have now concluded the open part of this meeting. We shall have a five-minute recess, after which the Committee will resume its work in private.

The meeting was suspended at 3.35 p.m. and resumed at 3.40 p.m.

17. The CHAIRMAN (United Arab Republic): We shall now continue the work of the Committee. Before proceeding with our formal duties and calling on the next speaker, I should first like to welcome all the members of the delegations to the Eighteen-Nation Committee who have returned to the resumed session of the Conference. I should like particularly to extend a warm welcome to the new leaders of delegations who are with us for the first time: Ambassador Winkler of Czechoslovakia, Ambassador Garcia Robles of Mexico and Ambassador Sule Kolo of Nigeria and Mr. Tonwe, who is with us today. I should like also to welcome Ambassador Christov of Bulgaria and Mr. Ecobesco of Romania, who have been with us before but are present now as leaders of their delegations. In welcoming them I should also like to extend to them my congratulations. Lastly, I should like to extend my congratulations to Madame Myrdal, our dear friend and leader of the Swedish delegation, whom we welcome back as Minister without Portfolio in the Swedish Cabinet in charge of disarmament matters.

18. Mr. FOSTER (United States of America): I should like to begin by welcoming Mr. Protitch, the distinguished Special Representative of the Secretary-General, and by asking him to convey to the Secretary-General our appreciation for his message to the Committee. A number of resolutions of the General Assembly deal directly with our work here, and the Secretary-General's message of encouragement to us is therefore most appropriate and welcome.

19. Let me also welcome Mr. Epstein, the Deputy Special Representative, who has contributed so much to our work over the years. Then, Mr. Chairman, let me congratulate you on your gracious introductory speech, which should help to launch us on a successful session of the Conference.

20. My delegation wishes, in addition, to welcome the distinguished delegates of Bulgaria, Burma, Czechoslovakia and Nigeria, who are joining us for the first time. I am particularly pleased to have this opportunity to pay a personal tribute to the distinguished representative of Mexico, whose tireless efforts and leadership were



(Mr. Foster, United States)

in large measure responsible for the success achieved by the Latin-American nations. And let me also greet our many old friends around this table with whom we have worked so well before.

21. President Johnson recently observed that the problems before this Committee are the most important on the agenda of the United States Government. In so doing he reaffirmed the dedication of my Government to the cause we have in common here, which is to find every appropriate means of making progress in prohibiting the spread of nuclear weapons, in halting the nuclear arms race, in beginning the process of reducing nuclear stockpiles, and in preparing the way for still wider disarmament measures.

22. Our task is as vast as it is important and urgent. We must not neglect any part of it if we are to achieve our ultimate goal. But, as in all difficult tasks, progress is facilitated by establishing a certain order of priorities.

23. The subject of non-proliferation is certainly uppermost in the minds of all of us as we begin our deliberations today. It was the subject of a Joint Memorandum by the Eight at the end of our meetings last August (ENDC/178). The Eight concluded that "A main obstacle to an agreement has so far been constituted by differences concerning nuclear armaments within alliances, a problem mainly discussed between the major Powers and their allies." To resolve these and other differences on non-proliferation, the Soviet Union and the United States, the co-Chairmen of this Committee, have held a number of meetings since last summer. Because, as the Eight's Memorandum noted, the differences arose in the context of alliance relationships, we have also been in close consultation with our NATO allies. We have made a great deal of progress and I hope we shall make even more in the days and weeks ahead.

24. Having in mind the high priority which the General Assembly asked us to give to non-proliferation, let me read a message to the Conference from President Johnson:

"The Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee reconvenes today in a time of renewed hope. Conclusion of a treaty banning weapons of mass destruction in outer space, and a treaty for a Latin-American nuclear-free zone, give new impetus to the effort to bring the arms race under control.

"The Disarmament Committee now faces a great opportunity -- a treaty to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons. I earnestly hope that it will soon be possible to recommend draft provisions of a non-proliferation treaty for the consideration of the Committee.

(Mr. Foster, United States)

"As I pointed out to the Congress in my State of the Union Message, the world is 'in the midst of a great transition, a transition from narrow nationalism to international partnership; from the harsh spirit of the cold war to the hopeful spirit of common humanity on a troubled and threatened planet'.

"Our deepest obligation to ourselves and to our children is to bring nuclear weapons under control. We have already made considerable progress. The next step is to prevent the further spread of these weapons. If we fail to act now, nation after nation will be driven to use valuable resources to acquire them. Even local conflicts will involve the danger of nuclear war. Nuclear arms will spread to potentially unstable areas where open warfare has taken place during the last decade. Indeed, all the progress of the past few years toward a less dangerous world may well be undone.

"A non-proliferation treaty must be equitable as between the nuclear and the non-nuclear-weapon Powers. I am confident that we can achieve such equity and that the security of all nations will be enhanced.

"Such a treaty will help to free the non-nuclear nations from the agonizing decision of whether to pursue a search for security through nuclear arms. Freed from the fear that non-nuclear neighbours may develop such weapons, nations can devote their efforts in the field of atomic energy to developing strong peaceful programmes.

"I have instructed our negotiators to exercise the greatest care that the treaty shall not hinder the non-nuclear Powers in their development of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes. We believe in sharing the benefits of scientific progress and we will continue to act accordingly. Through the International Atomic Energy Agency, through Euratom, and through other international channels, we have shared --- and will continue to share --- the knowledge we have gained about nuclear energy. There will be no barrier to effective co-operation among the signatory nations.

"I am sure we all agree that a non-proliferation treaty should not contain any provisions that would defeat its major purpose. The treaty must therefore cover nuclear explosive devices for peaceful as well as military purposes. The technology is the same. A peaceful nuclear explosive device would, in effect, also be a highly sophisticated weapon.

(Mr. Foster, United States)

"However, this will not impose any technological penalty on the participating nations. The United States is prepared to make available nuclear explosive services for peaceful purposes on a non-discriminatory basis under appropriate international safeguards. We are prepared to join other nuclear States in a commitment to do this.

"More generally, we recommend that the treaty clearly state the intention of its signatories to make available the full benefits of peaceful nuclear technology -- including any benefits that are the by-product of weapons research.

"To assure that the peaceful atom remains peaceful, we must work toward a broad international system of safeguards satisfactory to all concerned. The treaty provides a unique opportunity for progress to this end.

"Agreement on a treaty to stop the spread of nuclear weapons will be an historic turning point in the long effort to bring the atom to heel. It will, I am confident, permit further co-operative steps to reduce nuclear armaments. Plain sanity calls for a halt to the competition in nuclear arms.

"There is nothing to choose here between the interests of the nuclear and the non-nuclear nations: there is a terrible and inescapable equity in our common danger. I wish you godspeed in your work." (ENDC/187)

25. Mr. ROSHCIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translation from Russian): Today we are resuming within the Eighteen-Nation Committee the examination of one of the most important international problems -- the problem of disarmament. Needless to say, the solution of this problem, which is an inseparable part of the task of ensuring the peace and security of States and peoples, would be of great importance for normalizing and substantially improving the whole international situation.

26. In setting about the examination of disarmament questions in the Eighteen-Nation Committee we cannot, of course, fail to take into account the very complex situation existing at present in international affairs. The war of aggression unleashed by the United States in Viet-Nam continues to aggravate the international situation, creating a threat to world peace and making more complicated the solution of the questions before the Eighteen-Nation Committee. The responsibility for this state of affairs lies with the ruling circles of the United States of America. One cannot fail to note the negative effect which the armaments race engaged in by the United States is having upon the situation in the world and upon the solution of the disarmament

(Mr. Roshchin, USSR)

problem. Direct military expenditures alone will amount to \$75,500 million in the United States in the new financial year. In the United States the improvement and further development of various nuclear weapon systems is still going on. According to the statements of official United States representatives, the United States is speeding up the development of new and improved types of rocket weapons and bombers.

27. The situation also remains complex in Europe, where events have twice led to a world war. The problem of safeguarding European security is of great importance for the whole world. In speaking of the situation in Europe we cannot pass over in silence the danger arising from events in Western Germany, where statements are being made by ruling circles advocating a revision of the results of the second world war, and a resurgence of the intrigues of Nazism and militarism is taking place. The ruling circles of the Federal Republic of Germany are, as usual, making absurd claims to speak on behalf of the whole German people, despite the actual fact that there are two sovereign German States; they are putting forward illegal claims to the territory of other countries and openly striving to obtain access to nuclear weapons. All this renders much more difficult the solution of many questions relating to disarmament and to partial measures in this field.

28. The Soviet Government's statement of 28 January stresses the danger involved in a resurgence of neo-Nazism in the Federal Republic of Germany. I quote from the statement as follows:

"Take, for example, the aims of the programme of the so-called National Democratic Party, representatives of which have, as a result of the recent elections, taken their seats in the Landtags of Hesse and Bavaria. They are all imbued with a spirit of downright chauvinism, with a thirst for revenge and the seizure of the territory of other countries, and with a desire to restore the Third Reich and make it the 'first State of Europe'".

The statement points out that in Western Germany - I quote:

"... expenditures on research in the missile and atomic field have increased tenfold in the last few years and are estimated, even according to the official figures, at nearly DM 1,000 million".

(Mr. Roshchin, USSR)

29. While we are aware of the difficulties and obstacles in the way of solving the problems of disarmament, we nevertheless do not agree with the assertion that the world is not at all in a position to cope with the arms race. Among recent events we can note phenomena which, in our opinion, should have a positive effect on the solution of the problem of disarmament.

30. During the time which has elapsed since the close of the last session of the Eighteen-Nation Committee, a number of meetings and talks have taken place between Soviet statesmen and the statesmen of certain Western countries, including countries that are participating in the work of the Committee: the United Kingdom, Italy and Canada. In the course of these meetings and talks important questions concerning disarmament and the safeguarding of international security were dealt with, and the interest of the States taking part in the talks in restricting the arms race and in the adoption of measures designed to bring about disarmament was confirmed. The joint statement on the results of the visit of the President of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, Mr. A.N. Kosygin, to the United Kingdom notes in particular the following. I quote:

"In line with their efforts to reduce international tension, the two sides reaffirmed their interest in achieving progress towards disarmament. They stressed their desire to reach an understanding on general and complete disarmament, including nuclear disarmament and the banning of nuclear weapons, under effective international control". (The Times, 14 February 1967)

31. A positive factor which, in our opinion, should contribute to the progress of the Committee in solving the problems before it is the fact that the Committee is resuming its work after the General Assembly has examined at its twenty-first session a wide range of disarmament problems, including individual partial measures in this field. The General Assembly adopted a number of important resolutions (ENDC/185) which could and should be a starting-point for the working out by the Committee of concerted decisions on the problems before it. In this connexion it has to be noted with satisfaction that the most important resolutions were adopted in the General Assembly by an overwhelming majority of the Members of the United Nations.

(Mr. Roshchin, USSR)

32. Among the disarmament questions considered by the General Assembly, great attention was given to the problem of the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. The Assembly adopted important resolutions in this regard as well as on the questions of the renunciation by States of actions hampering the conclusion of an agreement on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. In the first of the aforesaid resolutions (A/RES/2153(XI)) the General Assembly urged States to take all necessary steps conducive to the earliest conclusion of a treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. In accordance with another resolution, adopted on the initiative of the Soviet Union, the General Assembly urgently appealed to all States, pending the conclusion of a non-proliferation treaty:

"(a) To take all necessary steps to facilitate and achieve at the earliest possible time the conclusion of a treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons in accordance with the principles laid down in General Assembly resolution 2028(XX);

"(b) To refrain from any actions conducive to the proliferation of nuclear weapons or which might hamper the conclusion of an agreement on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons." (A/RES/2149(XI))

33. The voting in the General Assembly on the problem of the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons was a sort of referendum among States, which showed quite clearly that the overwhelming majority of countries in the world, whether in Europe, Asia, Africa or America, were in favour of blocking the way to the further spread of nuclear weapons and of raising a firm anti-atomic barrier. These decisions are a sound basis for the work of the Eighteen-Nation Committee.

34. The Soviet Union has been steadfastly striving for a positive solution to this long-matured and urgent international problem. The Soviet Government's basic position is that under present conditions the solution of the non-proliferation problem can become one of the important stages along the road to the elimination of the threat of a nuclear war. In the statement of the Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, Mr. A.N. Kosygin, at a joint session of the two Houses of Parliament in London on 9 February, it was pointed out -- I quote:

(Mr. Roshchin, USSR)

"The way in which the Soviet Government understands the matter is that the question of non-proliferation has several aspects. First of all, it is important in itself as a means of restricting the threat of a nuclear conflict. Besides, as I have already said, it has a most direct bearing on European security. Lastly, we regard the solution of the problem of non-proliferation as an important step towards the subsequent nuclear disarmament of States. Non-proliferation is not a means of consolidating the particular status of the present nuclear Powers, but an important stage in the struggle for nuclear disarmament, for banning the use of nuclear weapons, for their complete removal from the armaments of States and their destruction, and the struggle to end the production of such weapons. We are confident that in the end it will be possible to solve all these problems and thus rid mankind of the threat hanging over it".

35. One cannot fail to note that at the present time in certain countries, and particularly in the Federal Republic of Germany, statements are being made by political leaders and in the press against the conclusion of a treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. Attempts are being made to question the need of a solution to this problem and to hamper the achievement of an agreement. To this end specious arguments are being circulated to the effect that the non-proliferation treaty would hinder the peaceful use of scientific discoveries in the field of nuclear energy by States which do not possess nuclear weapons. Such statements are designed to frustrate the solution of the problem of the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, are contrary to the resolutions of the General Assembly in this regard, and by no means contribute towards the fulfilment of the tasks set before the Committee in this field.

36. The General Assembly devoted attention to the question of banning underground tests of nuclear weapons. A request was addressed by the General Assembly to the Eighteen-Nation Committee to work out without delay a treaty banning underground tests of nuclear weapons (A/RES/2163(XI)).

37. The Soviet Union has declared and continues to declare its readiness to reach an agreement on this very important question. We realize that the achievement of

(Mr. Roshchin, USSR)

an agreement to ban all tests, including those underground, would be an important step towards the slowing-down of the nuclear armaments race. The banning of underground nuclear tests would also lead to the establishment of favourable conditions for the solution of other disarmament problems.

38. The obstacle to such an agreement is the condition put forward by the United States and other Western Powers for the banning of underground nuclear tests, namely the establishment of international control over such a ban. The demand of the United States and its Western partners for international control over compliance with an agreement to ban underground nuclear tests is groundless. Such a demand is put forward for political reasons. The carrying out of international control would lead to allowing various kinds of "inspection groups" into the territory of a State without any need. International inspections could be used for gathering military information of interest to a potential aggressor. The peoples that have borne on their shoulders the grievous consequences of foreign aggression cannot allow this. The Soviet Union has manifested and continues to manifest its readiness to reach an agreement on the banning of underground tests of nuclear weapons on the basis of the utilization of national means of detection for control over such a ban.

39. On the proposal of the Soviet Union the General Assembly considered the question of the elimination of foreign military bases in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Foreign military bases, on whichever continent they may be, increase international tension and are a threat to peace and security. As for the foreign military bases in Asia, Africa and Latin America, the experience of recent years shows that they have often been the source of the cropping-up of centres of aggression and of increased international tension. The resolution adopted by the General Assembly states that:

"... this question is of paramount importance and therefore necessitates serious discussion because of its implications for international peace and security" (A/RES/2165(XVI)).

We express the hope that in accordance with this resolution the Committee will carefully consider this question and prepare appropriate recommendations. The elimination of foreign military bases in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin



(Mr. Roshchin, USSR)

America would undoubtedly help to ease the international situation and do away with one of the sources of conflicts that jeopardize the cause of peace.

40. The General Assembly also examined the question of general and complete disarmament. It expressed its firm belief that it was "imperative to make further efforts to achieve early progress towards general and complete disarmament under effective international control..." (A/RES/2162C(XI)), and requested the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament "to pursue new efforts towards achieving substantial progress in reaching agreement on the question of general and complete disarmament under effective international control..." (ibid.)

41. The Soviet Union has made considerable efforts to reach an early solution of this pressing problem, which is vitally important for the future of mankind. Our basic position is that the complete destruction of armaments, including nuclear weapons, is the best guarantee of universal peace. The Soviet Government regards the struggle for general and complete disarmament as one of the major problems of international politics, requiring persistent efforts for its solution.

42. Apart from the questions which were examined by the General Assembly, the Eighteen-Nation Committee will also have to discuss other problems relating to disarmament and the elimination of the threat of war. They include the question of establishing nuclear-free zones in various parts of the world. The Soviet Union's attitude to this important problem was expressed in a letter from the Soviet Government communicated a month ago to the Chairman of the Preparatory Committee for the establishment of a nuclear-free zone in Latin America. This letter confirms the Soviet Union's position of principle in favour of the establishment of nuclear-free zones in various parts of the world. The establishment of nuclear-free zones helps to restrict the area of location and use of nuclear weapons, and is of great importance for eliminating the threat of nuclear war and restricting the arms race.

43. For its part, the Soviet Government is prepared to assume an obligation to respect the status of the nuclear-free zones that will be established, if similar obligations are also assumed by the other nuclear Powers. Of course, a more specific position in regard to any particular nuclear-free zone may be determined after the countries concerned have agreed on its establishment, and also after the positions of the other nuclear Powers have been made clear.

(Mr. Roshchin, USSR)

44. A number of other problems will also have to be examined by the Eighteen-Nation Committee. We hope that the work of the Committee will be fruitful. The desire of the peoples for the peaceful settlement of international questions, as life itself has shown, makes it possible to reach agreements in accordance with the interests of strengthening international peace and security and co-operation among States. This is shown by the recent conclusion of a treaty on the principles governing the activities of States in exploring and utilizing outer space, including the moon and other celestial bodies (A/RES/2222(XII)). The conclusion of the aforesaid Treaty makes it possible to hope that the serious international problems facing mankind on earth will also be solved. For its part, the Soviet delegation will exert every effort in order that our work may yield positive results in solving the urgent questions of disarmament and of ensuring international security.

45. Before concluding our statement, we also should like to avail ourselves of this opportunity to welcome here the newly-appointed representatives to this Eighteen-Nation Committee. First, the representative of Bulgaria, Ambassador Christov. We are glad to see him again in our midst, where for many years he has devoted his extensive knowledge and experience to the problems with which the Eighteen-Nation Committee is dealing. May I also welcome the representative of Burma, U Kyaw Min, who is the representative of a country which has been making so many efforts to solve urgent international problems? I should also like to welcome Ambassador Winkler, who has again been appointed as the representative of Czechoslovakia to this Committee. We are glad that his experience and knowledge of international affairs will be applied to the cause of disarmament, which is now attracting the attention of public opinion in many countries of the world.

46. I should also like to welcome the leader of the Mexican delegation, Ambassador Garcia Robles, whose efforts in solving the problem of disarmament are well known to everyone present here. May I also welcome the representative of Nigeria, Mr. Tonwe, and wish him every success in his work in the Eighteen-Nation Committee?

(Mr. Roshchin, USSR)

We also welcome the newly-appointed representative of Romania, Mr. Ecobesco, permanent representative of Romania to the United Nations Office at Geneva; we are all the more glad to see him here in his new capacity since he is one of the few diplomatists in our midst who has participated in the work of the Eighteen-Nation Committee throughout its five years of activity since March 1962.

47. Mr. GARCIA ROBLES (Mexico) (translation from Spanish): First of all, Mr. Chairman, I should like to thank you for your words of welcome to the new leaders of delegations to the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament, one of whom I have the honour to be. At the same time I want to express my sincere gratitude to the two co-Chairmen of the Committee, the representatives of the United States of America and the Soviet Union, for the generous tribute they have paid me for my modest contribution to the work which recently culminated in the signing of the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America (ENDC/166). It is a great privilege for me to take part in the work of this Committee for the first time. I have already met most of its members at the United Nations General Assembly and have admired their great talents and ability.

48. The main purpose of my statement is to submit to the Committee on Disarmament, for the information of the representatives of member States, the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America which was adopted unanimously by the twenty-one Member States of the Preparatory Commission for the Denuclearization of Latin America, of which I had the honour to be chairman at its four sessions. This Treaty, which -- I repeat -- was adopted unanimously on 12 February 1967 and was opened for signature on 14 February 1967, has already been signed by fifteen of the States which approved it.

49. The Treaty, which in future will probably be known as the Tlatelolco Treaty, after the name of the district of Mexico City where it was drafted, has objects even more ambitious than those of a non-proliferation treaty and sets the world an inspiring example, since it is the first treaty ever concluded which will guarantee the complete absence of nuclear weapons in a region inhabited by man. I venture to hope that it will provide the necessary stimulus to enable this Committee successfully to conclude at this session the task which has been entrusted to it: to draft a universal treaty to prevent the dissemination of nuclear weapons in any form whatsoever.

(Mr. Garcia Robles, Mexico)

50. Before I turn to the contents of the Tlatelolco Treaty, I think I should outline its origins and describe briefly the main stages of the work accomplished by the Latin-American Republics in the past three years and culminating in the Treaty they so ardently desired. On 27 November 1963 the General Assembly of the United Nations approved without a single negative vote a draft resolution recommended to it by the First Committee identical with the text submitted to that Committee by the ten Latin-American Republics of Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Costa Rica, Ecuador, El Salvador, Haiti, Mexico, Panama and Uruguay. In that resolution, entitled "Denuclearization of Latin America" and numbered 1911 (XVIII)(ENDC/117), the world Organization gave positive support to the declaration made on 29 April of the same year by five Latin-American Presidents led by the President of Mexico, stating that their Governments were prepared to sign a multilateral agreement whereby they would undertake not to manufacture, receive, store or test nuclear weapons or nuclear launching devices.

51. Immediately after the close of the eighteenth session of the Assembly the Mexican Ministry of Foreign Affairs commenced active consultations with the foreign ministries of the other Latin-American Republics on the best means of carrying out studies and taking the necessary measures to attain the objects of that declaration, as recommended in resolution 1911 (XVIII). The result of those consultations was the preliminary meeting on the Denuclearization of Latin America held in San Jeronimo Lidice, on the outskirts of the Federal District of Mexico, from 23 to 27 November 1964. Two basic resolutions were adopted there. The first defined the term "denuclearization", stating that it was to cover only the absence of nuclear weapons and not prohibition of the peaceful use of the atom, which on the contrary was to be encouraged, particularly for the benefit of the developing countries. The second resolution set up the Preparatory Commission for the Denuclearization of Latin America.

52. Four months later the first session of the Preparatory Commission was inaugurated, and was attended for the first time by observers from other continents, from the Netherlands and Yugoslavia. A co-ordinating committee and three working groups were set up. The three working groups were designated by the first three letters of the alphabet and given clearly-defined and urgent terms of reference. They worked assiduously between the first and the second sessions, and when the second session started on 23 August 1965 the Committee had before it several reports from them. The report of Working Group B contained a preliminary draft of articles

(Mr. Garcia Robles, Mexico)

on verification, inspection and control, for the preparation of which an extensive collection of background material supplied by the Secretary-General of the United Nations had been available, together with technical advice from the Chief of the Disarmament Affairs Division of that Organization, Mr. William Epstein, who has happily continued to attend all the meetings held since that date.

53. The Committee at its second session considered this preliminary draft, transmitted it to the Governments, and approved a general declaration of principle which later, with slight amendments, became the Preamble of the Treaty. It also set up a negotiating committee, the chief duty of which was to obtain undertakings from the nuclear Powers to respect the legal status of the military denuclearization of Latin America which was to be embodied in that international instrument.

54. The interval between the second and the third sessions was the longest recess between meetings of the Preparatory Commission; but the seven and a half months which passed without a meeting of the Committee were far from wasted. During much of this time either the Negotiating Committee or the Co-ordinating Committee worked assiduously. The former submitted to the Committee a detailed report on the results of its negotiations with the representatives of the nuclear States during the twentieth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations. The result of the Co-ordinating Committee's efforts was a substantial working paper in the form of a draft treaty. Thus the Commission had before it for the first time a text enabling it to assess fully the different questions on which it would have to decide its position before it finished drafting the denuclearization treaty.

55. This working paper was based on three documents: the preliminary draft articles concerning verification, inspection and control prepared the previous year by Working Group B; the preliminary draft treaty submitted by the Government of Mexico; and the observations transmitted by the Government of Chile. Together with the draft treaty submitted jointly by the Delegations of Brazil and Colombia shortly after the opening of the session, it laid the foundation for the unanimous adoption of the "Proposals for the elaboration of the treaty for the denuclearization of Latin America", which I ventured to claim at the time would hold a place of honour in the Treaty's immediate background even more important than that held by the Dumbarton Oaks proposals in relation to the San Francisco Charter.

(Mr. Garcia Robles, Mexico)

56. By the fourth session the number of observers for States had risen to 22, more than the members of the Committee. They came from countries in four continents: Austria, Belgium, Canada, the Republic of China, Denmark, Finland, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Ghana, India, Israel, Italy, Japan, Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Romania, Sweden, the United Arab Republic, the United Kingdom, the United States of America and Yugoslavia. The session was divided into two parts, the first being devoted to debate on the motion for adjournment submitted by various delegations. At the single meeting comprising this first part, held on 30 August 1966, the Commission had before it the Negotiating Committee's second report, on the results of the informal steps it had been instructed to take in order to establish contact with the Government of the People's Republic of China. The second part, held from 31 January to 14 February 1967, culminated in the approval and opening for signature of the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America.

57. At the end of 1966 the Commission's Co-ordinating Committee, founding itself on the results of informal talks held during the twenty-first session of the United Nations General Assembly, drafted in New York a number of concrete suggestions, which were embodied in its report of 28 December 1966, for solving the problems left in abeyance at the third session. The main problem concerned the entry into force of the future treaty, the subject of article 23 of the Proposals. With a nice sense of reality the Committee pointed out in its report that the second part of the fourth session, due to open on 31 January 1967, seemed to offer Latin America its final chance of giving the world the first example of a treaty of a kind which had been under preparation for the previous three years. Accordingly, it recommended the Commission, so as not to let slip this last opportunity, to remain in session until the treaty for the denuclearization of Latin America could be concluded and opened for signature.

58. The Preparatory Commission took the recommendations of its Co-ordinating Committee very seriously. At the opening meeting of the second part of its fourth session, scarcely three weeks ago, it decided to dispense with the general discussion and established two working groups. These, by intensive and unremitting efforts, completed the text of the Treaty, which, as I indicated at the beginning of my statement, was unanimously approved on 12 February and opened for signature two days later at the closing meeting of the Commission's work.

(Mr. Garcia Robles, Mexico)

59. Let me now deal briefly with the Treaty itself. As the full text has already been circulated, I will merely make a few comments on eight of its main subjects: the Preamble; obligations of member States; definition of nuclear weapons; explosions for peaceful purposes; organization; control system; entry into force, and undertakings required of States possessing nuclear weapons.

60. The Preamble, I consider without either boasting or false modesty, easily stands comparison both in substance and in form with any other similar text yet drafted. Its opening paragraph and the two concluding ones, which I propose to read to you, amply illustrate the lofty principles on which the Treaty is based and the noble aims it pursues:

"In the name of their peoples and faithfully interpreting their desires and aspirations, the Governments of the States which have signed the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America,

"Desiring to contribute, so far as lies in their power, towards ending the armaments race, especially in the field of nuclear weapons, and towards strengthening a world at peace, based on the sovereign equality of States, mutual respect and good neighbourliness"...

61. The Preamble ends by expressing the Latin-American States' Conviction -

"That the military denuclearization of Latin America -- being understood to mean the undertaking entered into internationally in this Treaty to keep their territories forever free from nuclear weapons -- will constitute a measure which will spare their peoples from the squandering of their limited resources on nuclear armaments and will protect them against possible nuclear attacks on their territories, and will also constitute a significant contribution towards preventing the proliferation of nuclear weapons and a powerful factor for general and complete disarmament, and

"That Latin America, faithful to its tradition of universality, must not only endeavour to banish from its homelands the scourge of a nuclear war, but must also strive to promote the well-being and advancement of its peoples, at the same time co-operating in the fulfilment of the ideals of mankind, that is to say, in the consolidation of a permanent peace based on equal rights, economic fairness and social

(Mr. Garcia Robles, Mexico)

justice for all, in accordance with the principles and purposes set forth in the Charter of the United Nations and in the Charter of the Organization of American States".

62. In regard to obligations, the Latin-American States have devised a definition which is undoubtedly one of the most comprehensive ever to have been drafted at world or regional level and certainly does not appear to contain any loophole. In article 1 of the Treaty the Contracting Parties undertake "to use exclusively for peaceful purposes the nuclear material and facilities which are under their jurisdiction, and to prohibit and prevent in their respective territories" both "the testing, use, manufacture, production or acquisition by any means whatsoever of any nuclear weapons" and "the receipt, storage, installation, deployment and any form of possession of any nuclear weapon, directly or indirectly, by the Parties themselves, by anyone on their behalf or in any other way". The Contracting Parties also undertake "to refrain from engaging in, encouraging or authorizing, directly or indirectly, or in any way participating in the testing, use, manufacture, production, possession or control of any nuclear weapon."

63. Furthermore, the definition of nuclear weapons contained in Article 5 of the Treaty is also, in my opinion, one of the most precise ever formulated and one which corresponds most closely to the latest technological developments. It states that, for the purposes of the Treaty, a nuclear weapon is "any device which is capable of releasing nuclear energy in an uncontrolled manner and which has a group of characteristics that are appropriate for use for war-like purposes." It adds the proviso: "An instrument that may be used for the transport or propulsion of the device is not included in this definition if it is separable from the device and not an indivisible part thereof."

64. Concerning the "explosions for peaceful purposes" referred to in Article 18 of the Treaty, it should be pointed out that the Contracting Parties may only carry out such explosions "provided that they do so in accordance with the provisions" of ~~that~~ article and "the other articles of the Treaty, particularly articles 1 and 5" to which I have just referred.



(Mr. Garcia Robles, Mexico)

65. Moreover, Article 18 establishes quite clearly the obligation of Contracting Parties intending to carry out or co-operate in the carrying out of such an explosion to notify both the Latin-American Agency set up under the Treaty and the International Atomic Energy Agency, as far in advance as the circumstances require, of the date of the explosion and at the same time to provide certain relevant information specified in the article. It also establishes their duty to allow observation of all the preparations, including the explosion of the device, and unrestricted access to any area in the vicinity of the site of the explosion in order to ascertain whether the device and the procedures followed during the explosion are in conformity with the information supplied.

66. In referring to this question at the signing ceremony on 14 February I used words which I think I might appropriately repeat on this occasion:

"The effectiveness of the undertakings entered into under the Treaty to prohibit all nuclear weapons in our territories will depend not so much on the wording of its provisions as on the good faith with which they are observed. In this connexion I should like to make a few comments which I consider justified and objective.

"One of the main problems with which the Commission had to contend in order to draft the Treaty was undoubtedly that of reconciling certain important aspects of the right of member States of the future Latin-American organization to use the atom for peaceful purposes with the absolute and unqualified prohibition of nuclear weapons. In all probability, apart from the merit of the texts which finally obtained general approval, this problem will never arise in practice in such a way as to imply an option. But if it did, and if unfortunately it were necessary to choose between the manufacture of nuclear devices which, though intended for peaceful purposes, were basically identical with nuclear weapons, and the renunciation of all nuclear explosions as the only means of avoiding the proliferation of those terrible weapons of mass destruction, the spirit which pervades the Treaty and is expressed in the Preamble clearly indicates which of those two alternatives would be chosen by the States members of the Preparatory Commission.

(Mr. Garcia Robles, Mexico)

"Unless technological progress one day makes it possible to distinguish clearly between nuclear explosives for peaceful and for warlike purposes, it will be necessary to seek a solution which precludes the spread of nuclear weapons and at the same time ensures that States which, like all the Latin-American countries, do not possess them are not deprived of the immense benefits which their economic development might derive from the use of nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes.

"As an immediate remedy, we believe that the possibility should be explored of creating at world level, within one of the existing international organizations such as the United Nations or the International Atomic Energy Agency or independently, a special programme similar to that which already exists for economic development, with the specific aim of helping all States in need of such assistance to carry out on their territories nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes -- once it has been shown, of course, that absolutely no danger is involved. With such help those countries would not have to squander their limited resources unnecessarily in themselves manufacturing the essential explosives.

"The Mexican Government will study this matter with all the attention it deserves, in order to submit in due course to the appropriate international gatherings any conclusions or proposals which may result".

67. That concludes the statement which I made one week ago at the closing meeting of the fourth session of the Preparatory Commission for the Denuclearization of Latin America.

68. Concerning organization: "In order to ensure compliance with the obligations" of the Treaty, Articles 7 to 11 provide for the establishment of a Latin-American autonomous organization to be known as the "Agency for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America". The Agency's headquarters will be in Mexico City and it will have three principal organs: the General Conference, the supreme organ, which will hold regular sessions every two years and may also hold special sessions whenever the Treaty so provides or the circumstances so require; the Council, composed of five members elected by the General Conference; and the Secretariat, headed by the General Secretary, who, like the rest of the staff, will have an exclusively international position.

(Mr. Garcia Robles, Mexico)

69. For the purpose of verifying compliance with the obligations entered into under the Treaty, Article 12 establishes a control system which is defined at length in Articles 13 to 18. In the system's application a pre-eminent role is assigned to the International Atomic Energy Agency and its system of safeguards. Provision is also made for the submission of periodic and special reports by the Contracting Parties. for special inspections in certain events, and for the transmission of reports on the results to the Security Council and the General Assembly of the United Nations.

70. The entry of the Treaty into force was the main problem left unsolved at the Preparatory Commission's third session, held from 19 April to 4 May 1966. The Proposals adopted on that occasion included two alternative texts on this subject. According to the first the Treaty, like any other, would come into force among the ratifying States on the date of deposit of their respective instruments of ratification; while according to the second it could not enter into force for any State until a number of requirements had been met.

71. To solve this problem the Co-ordinating Committee suggested in its report of 28 December 1966 -- to which I have already referred -- a compromise solution which might prove acceptable to all the member States of the Commission without prejudicing in any way their respective positions on the substance of the question, as reflected in the two alternative texts included in the Proposals. This is the formula which, with certain modifications, was finally adopted and incorporated in Article 28 of the Treaty. It provides that the Treaty shall enter into force for all signatory States only when they have met the four requirements specified in paragraph 1 of the article. Nevertheless, paragraph 2 goes on to say:

"All signatory States shall have the imprescriptible right to waive, wholly or in part, the requirements laid down in the preceding paragraph. They may do so by means of a declaration which shall be annexed to their respective instruments of ratification and which may be formulated at the time of deposit of the instrument or subsequently. For those States which exercise this right, this Treaty shall enter into force upon deposit of the declaration, or as soon as those requirements have been met which have not been expressly waived".

Paragraph 3 of the same article provides:

"As soon as this Treaty has entered into force in accordance with the provisions of paragraph 2 for eleven States, the Depositary

(Mr. Garcia Robles, Mexico)

Government" -- that is, the Mexican Government -- "shall convene a preliminary meeting of those States in order that the Agency may be set up and commence its work".

Thus an eclectic system has been adopted which, while respecting the points of view of all the signatory States, prevents any one of them from vetoing the entry into force of the Treaty for those States which wish to abide voluntarily by the status of denuclearization which it defines and sets forth.

72. Incidentally, on the day that the Treaty was opened for signature the President of Mexico made it known through me that when the Executive, of which he is head, sends the Senate the text of the Treaty for approval, it will also send the text of the declaration provided for in Article 28, paragraph 2, whereby the Government of Mexico will waive all the requirements set forth in paragraph 1 of that article so that the Treaty may enter into force for Mexico from the time of deposit of its instrument of ratification.

73. The eighth and last question on which I should like to say a few words is the co-operation of the nuclear Powers. On this co-operation, which the United Nations General Assembly was already urging in 1963 in its resolution 1911 (XVIII) (ENDC/117), the Treaty contains an Additional Protocol II whereby States in possession of nuclear weapons which sign and ratify it undertake to respect it "in all its express aims and provisions". In particular they undertake not to contribute in any way, in the territories to which the Treaty applies, "to the performance of acts involving a violation of the obligations of article 1 of the Treaty", nor "to use or threaten to use nuclear weapons against the Contracting Parties of the Treaty".

74. In the light of this brief review of some of the main provisions of the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America, and especially in the light of a more detailed analysis of the Treaty, there will certainly not be wanting persons who will say -- and of course quite rightly -- that this is not a perfect treaty, that it suffers from defects and could be better. Still, I do not think that need worry us, because it applies to all products of human efforts, which are essentially open to improvement. My own conviction is that the Treaty, despite its limitations, is destined to exercise a moral influence of incalculable value.

75. That may have been why the Secretary-General of the United Nations, in his message to the Preparatory Commission of 12 February on the occasion of the unanimous approval of the Treaty, used these encouraging words:

(Mr. Garcia Robles, Mexico)

"The Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America marks an important milestone in the long and difficult search for disarmament ...

"The provisions of the Treaty also mark a major step forward in the field of verification and control. Among the treaties I have mentioned, the one you have today approved is the first and only one that establishes an effective system of control, under a permanent and supervisory organ. By adopting the safeguards system of the International Atomic Energy Agency and by setting up a system of special inspections in case of suspicion, outside of the Agency's safeguards system, of violations, you have also pioneered the way in providing a sound method of assurance to all parties that the Treaty will be observed.

"The success you have achieved in your work here will stand not only as a landmark but will be an encouraging example, and I trust also an important stimulant, for progress in other disarmament measures of world-wide as well as of regional significance. The importance of your work also goes beyond that of the field of nuclear disarmament; it contributes in a concrete way to the promotion of international peace and security.

"The nations of Latin America can, with ample justification, take pride in what they have wrought by their own initiative and through their own efforts".

76. I firmly believe that U Thant is right. The Treaty of Tlatelolco, the importance of which was highlighted by the President of Mexico, Don Gustavo Diaz Ordaz, when he honoured the signing ceremony with his presence exactly one week ago today, is the first to be concluded for the purpose of ensuring for all time the total absence of nuclear weapons, not in regions of eternal snow like the Antarctic, nor yet, as in outer space, in remote celestial bodies millions of miles away, but in territories of dense human population extending almost over a whole continent on this planet of ours. It is in fact the first example of the unconditional prohibition of nuclear weapons in inhabited lands.

77. Latin America offers the whole world this sign of its peaceful vocation and categorical rejection of all participation in the nuclear armaments race. May its example inspire our discussions at this Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament!

78. Lord CHALFONT (United Kingdom): Before I make my brief contribution to this afternoon's proceedings I should like to pay my respects to Mr. Protitch, the Special Representative of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, and to thank him for the encouraging message which he has delivered to us from the Secretary-General.

79. I should like to extend a welcome also, on behalf of my delegation, to Mr. Epstein, the Deputy Special Representative of the Secretary-General, who, as the distinguished representative of the United States has said, has contributed so much in the past to our deliberations.

80. May I offer my congratulations to Ambassador Khallaf, our Chairman for this opening meeting, on his admirable and stimulating address? Finally, may I welcome those leaders of delegations making their first appearance in this Committee, those returning to our deliberations after absence on other duties, and all our old friends, especially those who are leading their delegations for the first time.

81. My main aim in speaking at all this afternoon is to say that I have received the following message addressed to the Committee from my Prime Minister, which I shall read out:

"The 1967 session of the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee will be of critical importance. I believe that we have now reached the point at which, given the political will, a treaty to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons can be negotiated soon. This is the most urgent of the Committee's tasks.

"Such an agreement, however, cannot stand on its own. If, as I hope, the Committee's negotiations result in a non-proliferation treaty, this must spur it on to new endeavours. I believe that progress is possible in two most important areas. The first is that of a complete test ban, the second real progress to more general disarmament, particularly in nuclear weapons. Dangerous tendencies now exist which could lead the world into a new arms race. It must be the Committee's objective to halt these tendencies and to begin the pressing task of reducing nuclear stocks and conventional forces, so that the world can devote a higher proportion of its resources to the problems of hunger and inequality.

(Lord Chalfont, United Kingdom)

"In seeking these objectives the Committee will have the full support of the United Kingdom. I send it my best wishes for a fruitful session". (ENDC/188)

82. I do not propose to say more now about the subject which is in the forefront of all our minds. My delegation has been encouraged by the speeches of the representatives of the United States and of the Soviet Union which we have just heard, and the message in which President Johnson so eloquently appeals for the early conclusion of a non-proliferation treaty (ENDC/187). It is disappointing that it has not been possible for new texts to be tabled today, at the beginning of our session. I hope that the delay can be kept as short as possible.

83. At our next meeting I propose to say more about my Government's policies with regard to the scope and aim of a non-proliferation treaty, particularly in connexion with some new arguments which have been put forward in the debate since the last session of the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee. Among those new arguments I would hardly classify some of the remarks made this afternoon by the representative of the Soviet Union about the Federal Republic of Germany, about its alleged demands for access to nuclear weapons and its alleged tendency towards a new form of nazism. There is a depressing familiarity about this assault, and it is matched by remarkably little objective evidence.

84. My Government, having I am sure watched recent developments in the Federal Republic of Germany with an interest at least as close as that of the Soviet Union, is confident that the German people is firmly wedded to the principles of true democracy, which it chooses to express through adherence to the Western Alliance. We have noticed several recent reiterations of the determination of the German Government not to develop a nuclear capability of its own. We have at the same time noticed some public expression of doubts about adherence to a non-proliferation treaty that certainly do not make the Federal Republic of Germany unique amongst the non-nuclear Powers. Indeed it is to resolve those doubts, wherever they exist, that we have come together again here in Geneva.

85. Meanwhile my delegation is delighted to note progress in another field of arms control. We join, I am sure with everyone else in this Committee, in offering our warmest congratulations to the countries of Latin America on their most important feat, the agreement presented to the Committee today to establish a nuclear-free zone in Latin America, an agreement which, as we have heard, has recently been achieved in Mexico City (ENDC/186).

(Lord Chalfont, United Kingdom)

86. Here I should like to echo Ambassador Foster's tribute to Ambassador Garcia Robles, whose contribution to the achievement of that Treaty has been remarkable and distinguished. The agreement is a significant advance in the disarmament negotiations. It represents, as Ambassador Garcia Robles has said, the first occasion on which nations have agreed on provisions which, when they enter into force, will have the effect of keeping free of nuclear weapons a great and populous part of the earth's surface. We hope that agreement on the Treaty will be a good omen for the work of the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee on non-proliferation.

87. The United Kingdom has supported and, I hope, encouraged the efforts of the Latin-American countries throughout the negotiations. We very much hope that we shall be able to associate ourselves with the Treaty now that it has been concluded, both as a nuclear Power and in respect of our dependent territories in the area.

88. Mr. FOSTER (United States of America): I regretted hearing once again an attack on what my Government is doing in Viet-Nam. As I have said many times before, we are there to resist aggression from the north. But we are prepared to go more than halfway to meet any equitable overture from the other side. As we have stated before, we are prepared to negotiate without conditions and we are prepared for a reciprocal reduction of hostilities.

It is my delegation's hope that we shall not permit this session to be side-tracked by discussions of matters which cannot be settled here. That would divert us from the task which all delegations here, I believe, agree is urgent, that of achieving a non-proliferation treaty.

89. May I join my distinguished British colleague in commenting on the subject of the Federal Republic of Germany? We have become accustomed by now to the ritual of these attacks. However, we think it may be expedient for those who make such attacks to consider at this particular time whether they serve the purposes for which this Conference has been convened. Can attacks of this type promote an atmosphere of mutual accommodation necessary to achieve our purposes? I doubt it. Those attacks, as Lord Chalfont has said, are manifestly unjust. The Federal Republic of Germany is the only country in the world which has undertaken an international obligation not to manufacture nuclear weapons; and, if I may say so, we are hopeful that, due to the efforts of our Mexican colleague, there will be others who will move in this direction.



(Mr. Foster, United States)

90. On several occasions recently Chancellor Kiesinger has reiterated the intention of his Government to seek better relations with the countries to the East, including the Soviet Union. His Government has expressed also its support of the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. However, since the Federal Republic is not represented in this body, and as the representative of another of the allied countries, I join Lord Chalfont in rejecting the allegations that have been made by the representative of the Soviet Union. They are ill-conceived, and they are harmful to the objective of obtaining the largest number of accessions to the non-proliferation treaty which we hope to achieve here.

91. The CHAIRMAN (United Arab Republic): I have no other speaker on my list. I should now like to inform the Committee of the recommendations of the co-Chairmen concerning the procedure in regard to our future work. The co-Chairmen have agreed to recommend to the members of the Committee the following procedure of work.

92. As in the past, the Committee would at first hold two meetings a week, on Tuesdays and Thursdays, at the usual time, 10.30 a.m. The first meeting would be allocated to general debate in accordance with established practice.

93. If there are no objections, we shall regard this procedure as adopted by the Committee.

It was so decided.

94. Mr. ROSHCHIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translation from Russian): Mr. Chairman, I asked for the floor before you began to deal with procedural matters; but since you have already done so and gone on to the question of drafting a communiqué, I reserve my right to reply at a subsequent meeting to the representatives of the United Kingdom and the United States in connexion with their remarks about my statement and assessment of the position and policy of the Federal Republic of Germany. I reserve the right to speak on that subject at one of our next meetings.

95. The CHAIRMAN (United Arab Republic): I thank the representative of the USSR, and I am very sorry that I did not notice that he had asked for the floor.

The Conference decided to issue the following communiqué:

"The Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament today held its 287th meeting in the Palais des Nations, Geneva, under the chairmanship of H.E. Ambassador Hussein Khallaf, representative of the United Arab Republic.

"The Special Representative of the Secretary-General of the United Nations made a statement and conveyed a message to the Conference from the Secretary-General. The Chairman also made a statement.

"After the conclusion of the open part of the meeting, statements were made by the representatives of the United States, the Soviet Union, Mexico and the United Kingdom.

"The following documents were tabled:

"1. Letter dated 18 January 1967 from the Secretary-General of the United Nations to the co-Chairmen of the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament transmitting resolutions 2149 (XXI), 2153 (XXI), 2162 (XXI), 2163 (XXI), 2164 (XXI) and 2165 (XXI) of the General Assembly (ENDC/185).

"2. Final Act of the Fourth Session of the Preparatory Commission for the Denuclearization of Latin America (ENDC/186).

"3. Message of the President of the United States, Lyndon B. Johnson, to the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament (ENDC/187).

"4. Message to the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament from the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, Mr. Harold Wilson (ENDC/188).

"The next meeting of the Conference will be held on Thursday, 23 February, at 10.30 a.m."

The meeting rose at 5.20 p.m.